DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 074 195 UD 013 440

AUTHOR	Hutchins, Robert C.
TITLE	"Attitudes of Male Gang Members Related to Innovative Education."
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania State Univ., University Park. Div. of Education Policy Studies.
PUB DATE	Feb 73
NOTE	28p.; Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting (New Orleans, La., February 1973)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Changing Attitudes; *Educational Attitudes; Educational Change; Family Attitudes; High Schools; *High School Students; *Juvenile Gangs; Peer Groups; Political Attitudes; Self Concept; *Social Attitudes; Socialization; *Student Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS	Pennsylvania; Philadelphia Parkway Program

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the attitudes of known male gang members attending an innovative high school--the Philadelphia Parkway Program--toward the major socializing institutions of our society: schools, government (law enforcement), family, peers, and themselves. The study was also intended to determine the extent to which known male gang members, who attend an innovative high school, differ significantly in their attitudes over a period of time from each other and from known male gang members who attend one of the traditional high schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Many Philadelphia schools at the secondary level are plagued with the problem of a high degree of disruptive pupil activity. This activity affects the entire educational program within these schools and also the safety of students as they move to and from school. Much of this disruptive activity has been attributed to boys who are known to belong to subgroups called gangs. Parents, students, teachers, administrators, and members of the community at large are concerned with increasing gang activity and its consequences for school programs and the larger community in general. The search for solutions has led many large school systems to explore the role of alternative schools in the educating of alienated youth. (Author/JM)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Presented at AERA, 1973

ED 074195

"Attitudes of Male Gang Members Related to Innovative Education"

by

Robert C. Hutchins

As Part of the Package Proposal, Entitled:

"Violent Teenage Gangs in Urban Schools"

for

Presentation at the 1973 AERA Annual Meeting in New Orleans

February 25 - March 1, 1973

Division of Education Policy Studies
The Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD 013440

Introduction

The American Society has always given the schools of its nation a mandate to exert a positive influence on its youth. The schools have been asked to shape the attitudes and values of its students as well as to produce skilled members for productive positions in society. A growing number of educators, especially those in the urban setting, are being reminded daily through disruptive (and sometimes violent behavior that the schools are not fulfilling their purpose for all of its young. This would seem to indicate that the impact of the educational experience on that population of students has been a failure, or that there are other institutions and factors that have a greater socializing impact than the school. The Final Report of the Task Force on Urban Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1970) advised:

> Urban education systems are facing a major challenge to provide appropriate learning experiences for the various life styles of their vast numbers of students. The indicators of this challenge are extremely diverse in their intensity and scope: student unrest on the university campuses and in high schools, local community groups, seeking control of their neighborhood schools, clashes with law enforcement agencies, complaints being made with regard to use of Federal funds, teacher strikes, voter rejection of large city school bond issues, the proliferation of alternative plans for educating students, lack of priority for education in State and local governments. By far, the greatest number of such indicators - interacting on and intensifying each other - are taking place in our cities.

During the past decade, the number of young people expressing dissatisfaction with the educational institutions in their communities grew to alarming proportions. These youngsters were found in communities in every part of the nation, but they were located in the urban centers in far larger numbers. As a result, federal and state legislatures, school boards, universities, educators, and community and civic groups have been

called upon to find solutions to the problems of urban education. The search for solutions has led many large school systems to explore the role of alternative schools in the educating of alienated youth. Innovative alternative schools have been opened in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Berkeley, and Atlanta and many more cities are planning alternatives. The trend toward innovative high schools has captured the attention of school administrators across the nation.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to determine the attitudes of known male gang members attending an innovative high school (the Philadelphia Parkway Program) toward the major socializing institutions of our society; schools, government (law enforcement), family, peers, and themselves. The study was also intended to determine the extent to which known male gang members, who attend an innovative alternative high school, differ significantly in their attitudes over a period of time from each other and from known male gang members who attend one of the traditional high schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Many Philadelphia schools at the secondary level are plagued with the problem of a high degree of disruptive pupil activity. This activity affects the entire educational program within these schools and also the safety of students as they move to and from school. Much of this disruptive activity has been attributed to boys who are known to belong to subgroups called gangs. Parents, students, teachers, administrators, and members of the community at large are concerned with increasing gang activity and its consequences for school programs and the larger community in general.

Extra-curricular activities, lunchroom service, lavatory usage, hall passage, and fighting, both within the school building and in the immediate vicinity, are said to be greatly influenced by the behavior of boys known to be gang oriented. Truancy, class cutting, poor attendance, lateness, and the destruction of school and public property are seen as directly related to gang behavior.

Public transportation policy, police deployment at strategic times, additional non-instructional personnel, parent patrols, school schedules, and dismissal times are influenced by the presence of gangs in some schools and communities. If schools are to effectively alter the negative influence that the gangs of Philadelphia have on their educational climate, then more information on the role that schools play in the shaping of the behavior of individual gang members is needed.

When an individual arrives at the secondary school level, he comes at a particular point in time during the socialization process. What the individual brings with him to school is consequently a culmination of his interactions with the family, teacher, peer group, and broader community. Loose connections with adult institutions are felt to promote intense attachments to the peer group. If membership in a gang reduces still further the opportunity for the development of positive interaction with adult socializing institutions, the gang can become the exclusive vehicle for the satisfying experiences and support sources that are essential to all human beings and especially to adolescent individuals.

The association of the amount of satisfying experiences attained in traditional institutions and the degree of alienation and separation from these institutions is founded upon the concept of equal and unequal opportunity. Utilizing this concept, alienation may be viewed as a failure to

identify with the norms and values of traditional socializing institutions. Such alienation could indicate that equal opportunity is not afforded certain individuals for the achievement of success status within the framework of those institutions.

Cohen's (1955) proposition is that when individuals are unable to succeed in terms of the criteria of the traditional institutions, they suffer loss of status and self-respect. Consequently these individuals join together to reject traditional standards and values and to establish their own criteria of success. Further support for viewing conflicting value formation as a reaction to the lack of opportunity for achieving success is given by Tannenbaum (1951) who describes anti-social group formation as the consequence of the failure of socializing agencies such as the family and the school as an individual's primary reference group. In order to explain the degree of alienation and extent of a group's conflict with socializing institutions, Sutherland's (1939) theory of differential association was utilized. Previous research done by Cloward and Ohlin (1961), and others supported the application of this theory to the study.

Sutherland's theory postulates that traditional institutions and the gang compete with one another. The differential frequency, duration, priority, and intensity of interpersonal associations within those institutions affect the extent to which the values of the group are accepted or rejected by the individual.

According to Clark (1962), the importance of education traditionally has been recognized by civic leaders and social scientists alike as a means for national and individual development. But whereas civic leaders are inclined to see education as primarily functional to the production of skilled manpower, social scientists are more apt to stress the role of

education as "working to change the balance of different attitudes and values in the population." Anderson (1966) supports the social science position by stating that "it is through education that children develop new conceptions of what kind of person they are. They adopt new rules for their conduct and acquire loyalties to new ideas and new groups." The school, like the family, serves as a basic agency of socialization. It is expected to instill certain norms and values and to affect aspirations.

Many researchers of juvenile gang behavior have found that delinquent gang members are less likely to identify with the norms and values of the educational institution which they attend than are non-delinquent boys. Reckless (1956) found in his study of gangs that in contrast to non-gang members, gang members were in conflict with the normative patterns surrounding the educational institutions that they attended. Bogardus (1953) isolated a number of factors that he believed to be the cause of boys joining gangs: school dislike and school failure were among those thought to be most dominant. Kvaraceus (1959) found that 67 per cent of the delinquent boys that he studied expressed a strong dislike for school. The Gluecks (1950) in their comparison of delinquents and non-delinquents concluded that 88 per cent of the delinquents expressed an intense dislike for school. Block and Flynn (1956) discovered that most studies list negative attitudes toward school as a major characteristic of delinquent gang members.

Most contemporary theory implies that the delinquent gang is a subculture through which status is attained by demonstrating opposition to prevailing institutional standards. Theories of delinquency suggest that delinquent groups collectively respond to adolescent efforts to establish

identity and to overcome frustrations arising from an inability to achieve success through legitimate means.

There seems to appear in the theories relating to delinquent group formation, the implication that satisfying experiences within certain socializing agencies can overcome the influence of the delinquent gang as a reference group. A school that provides an individual with the opportunity to achieve success, gain mutual support, and develop a positive self-identity and feeling of personal worth should be able, to some degree, to effectively influence that individual's values and norms.

The Philadelphia Parkway Program

The Philadelphia Parkway Program challenges many traditional concepts of secondary education. There are no school buildings, no grades, and very few "rules." Instead, its students are encouraged to find their own curriculum, their own classroom space, and in some cases, their own teachers from among the resources of the urban community. The program's structure is as much the work of the students as of the educational administrators. The students take an active role in the planning and administration of their school. The school is organized into "units" or learning "communities," each of which serves a maximum of 200 students.

The program is non-competitive; students receive credit or no credit for their learning experience. There are no report cards. The student competes only against himself. The student receives an evaluation at the end of each quarter and in turn evaluates the instructor and the value of the course offering. The student may take a course in a variety of ways and in a variety of places. The student may take a course at the Free

Library, the Art Museum, the city zoo, at one of the local universities, at City Hall, in a private home, an auto repair shop, a hospital, with a community service organization, or at the Franklin Institute. The student is encouraged to seek out and develop his own curriculum. Students must take a certain amount of course work that will lead to the satisfaction of mandated State educational curriculum requirements, but these may be earned in a manner vastly different from the traditional method.

The literature on the Parkway Program states that what the program is all about is an attitude toward learning. An attitude which suggests that learning is enjoyable, profitable, and enduring. Because of this attitude toward learning, the student is expected to feel that the school is working with him and not against him, and that his interests and needs will be taken into account and supported. The Parkway Program lists among its goals and objectives:

a. To provide an opportunity for each student to experience success in achieving.

b. To provide an opportunity for all students to serve others and the community.

c. To allow each student to experience in a real life setting, that which will lead to self-discipline and self-responsibility.

d. To provide the student an opportunity to recognize and understand human behavior and interaction.

e. To demonstrate that informal education can reduce problems which have become associated with traditional high school programs . . . dropouts, gangs, low academic achievement, alienation, and chronic absenteeism.

The most recent description of the Parkway Program is John Bremer's book, The School Without Walls, written with Michael Moschzisker (1972).

The OSTI Incorporation (1972) in an evaluation report to the Philadelphia School System, stated that:

> The Parkway Program has accomplished something unique when viewed against the backdrop of our nation's urban education. Despite problems and weaknesses, Parkway has created an atmosphere in which students perceive rules and regulations not as hostile attacks upon their humanity, but as essential ingredients in creative group living. The adults who normally bear the responsibility for making and enforcing those rules are, at Parkway, frequently regarded as allies. Student acceptance of the necessity of rules and their affirmation of adults as people who can be trusted to care are notable achievements.

The report further states that the students at Parkway, regardless of skill level, are attempting to escape their old situation. For some that means gangs, for some personal rejection because of poor performance, and for some rejection of conflicting life styles. Parkway School's design attempts to provide a climate wherein an individual can obtain basic emotional gratification and is afforded ample opportunity for success.

Method

A Semantic Differential instrument based on the Osgood, et al. (1957) model was used to gather data from male public high school students known to be gang oriented in order to test the major hypotheses in this study.

All hypotheses were tested in null form. They were as follows:

I. No significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who are new to an innovative high school in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves.

II. There will be no significant difference between male students who are known gang members and have attended an innovative high school for two or more years, and male students who have attended an innovative high school for one year in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves.

III. No significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who applied for but were not accepted into an innovative high school, in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves.

IV. No significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who did not apply to an innovative high school, in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves.

The students were asked to judge 7 concepts against a 12 scale differential. The concepts selected were related to education - SCHOOL and TEACHER, government (law enforcement) - POLICEMEN, family - MOTHER and FATHER, and self - ME and GANGS. The twelve adjective pairs selected were developed over time and used in many studies for obtaining attitudinal measures. The scales (bi-polar adjectives pairs) were selected from the factor analytic work of Osgood (1957) and were felt to have factor representativeness and relevance to the concepts used.

Each concept appeared on a separate sheet with the same set of scales. Subjects were instructed to judge or rate the concepts as they saw them. Six of the 12 pairs of adjectives were reversed at random in order to counteract response bias tendencies. The scales were all seven-point scales and were assigned numbers 1 through 7. The number 7 was assigned to the highest possible positive adjective rating and the number 1 was assigned to the highest possible negative rating. If the subject checked the adjective pair good-bad between the first and second sets of dots at the left, a 6 was assigned.

Example:

good____:_X_:____:____:____:____:____bad

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The response was taken as a measure of attitude toward a particular concept and was seen as either positive, negative, or neutral.

High school administrators, counselors, and teachers, as well as youth center workers and juvenile gang control officers, were involved in the selection of the students participating in this study. Several general criteria were established for the identification of known male gang members. Only males who were still attending public high school were included. The students were either known to school officials as gang members because of their involvement in gang related activities in or about the school, had been arrested by juvenile gang control officers for gang related behavior, or had been incarcerated at the youth center at one time or another because of their involvement in gang oriented incidents. A list of 400 known male gang members who did not apply for the Parkway School and who were still attending one of the traditional high schools in the city of Philadelphia was compiled. Another list of 100 known male gang members who applied to the Parkway School, but were not selected by lottery, was also compiled. Utilizing a table of random numbers, 100 names were selected from the "did not apply" list and 50 names were selected from the "applied but were not selected" list for the control group.

The students participating in this study were divided into three groups. The experimental group consisted of 50 known male gang members who attended the Philadelphia Parkway Program, an innovative public high school. Twenty-five of the innovative school students were new to the school in the Fall of 1971, while 25 had been in the school for one or more years. The control group consisted of 150 known male gang members who attended any one of a number of traditional high schools in the City of Philadelphia. The control group was divided, for the purpose of analysis, into two sub-groups.

Fifty students who had applied to the Parkway Program but were not selected in the city-wide lottery held in the Spring of 1971 were assigned to one group, while the remaining 100 students in the control group consisted of known male gang members who did not apply to the innovative school. The fact that all students (800) attending the Parkway School were selected by city-wide lottery from among over 5,000 applicants provided a rare opportunity for an investigative design of this nature.

Presentation of Data

Table 1 shows that students who were new to the innovative program differed significantly from students who had been in the innovative program for one or more years in their attitudes toward the concepts TEACHER, POLICEMAN, ME, and GANGS. More positive, though not significant, attitudes toward the concepts SCHOOL and FATHER were also indicated by the students who had been in the innovative program for one or more years.

Since it was also the purpose of the study to investigate the direction of those attitudes indicated by male gang members attending an innovative high school, it is worthwhile to note that those students who had attended the Parkway Program for one or more years expressed attitudes towards the concepts SCHOOL, TEACHER, POLICEMAN, FATHER, ME, and GANGS that were more positive than those indicated by students who were new to the program.

As indicated in Table 2, significant differences were found between the two group's attitudes toward the concepts FATHER, MOTHER, and GANGS. The students who had been in the Parkway Program for two or more years reported attitudes that were significantly more positive attitudes toward

TABLE 1

Differences Between Attitudes of New Innovative Program Students and One Year or More Innovative Program Students Toward Concepts

	New (Fall 1971) N = 25		One Year or More (Fall 1971) N = 25		
Concept	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	"t"
School	51.04	8.55	52.72	4.54	0.85
Teacher	45.12	3.88	47.36	7.93	3.33*
Policeman	44.96	5.82	46.68	6.28	2.58*
Father	50.16	5.83	51.04	6.90	1.20
Mother	45.36	5.99	44.40	7.64	1.46
Me	46.64	5.49	48.04	7.78	2.03*
Gangs	45.24	5.56	46.60	6.17	2.04*

*Significant at the .05 level or beyond.

TABLE 2

Differences Between Attitudes of New Innovative Program Students and One Year or More Innovative Program Students Toward Concepts

	One Year (Spring 1972) N = 25		Two or More Years (Spring 1972) N = 25		
Concept	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	"t"
School	52.08	6.85	52.72	5.89	0.84
Teacher	45.92	6.57	46.24	6.22	0.48
Policeman	46.24	5.17	46.68	4.58	0.65
Father	51.68	7.16	49.92	5.42	2.38*
Mother	45.32	6.82	48.08	3.75	4.06*
Me	44.76	5.95	44.72	3.08	0.06
Gangs	48.80	4.53	45.64	5.22	4.61*

*Significant at the .05 level or beyond.

the concepts FATHER and GANGS than did those students who had been in the program for two or more years.

More positive attitudes, though not statistically significant, were indicated toward the concepts SCHOOL, TEACHER, and POLICEMAN by two or more years in the innovative school group. More positive, though not significant, attitudes were reported by the one year student group toward the concept ME.

As indicated in Table 3, significant differences were found between the one year innovative program students and the applied to but not selected students in their attitudes toward the concepts; SCHOOL, TEACHER, and FATHER. Significant differences occurred between students who had been in the innovative program for two or more years and the applied to but were not selected traditional school student group in their attitudes toward the concepts; SCHOOL, TEACHER, FATHER, MOTHER, and GANGS. Both the one year and two or more years in the innovative program student groups reported attitudes that were significantly more positive toward the concepts SCHOOL and FATHER than did the applied to but were not selected student group. The applied to but were not selected group indicated significantly more positive attitudes toward the concepts TEACHER and ME than did both the one year and two or more year student group attending the innovative program.

Less positive, though not significant, attitudes were indicated by both innovative program groups toward the concept ME.

As indicated in Table 3, significant differences occurred between students who had been in the innovative program for one year and students who did not apply to the innovative program in their attitudes toward the concepts; SCHOOL, FATHER, and GANGS. The Parkway Program students indicated a significantly more positive attitude toward the concepts; SCHOOL

TABLE 3

Summary of Differences Among All Groups on Selected Concepts

	Parkway One or More Years N = 25		Parkway Two or More Years N = 25		Applied Not Accepted N = 50		Did Not Apply N = 100	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
School	52.08	6.85[a,b]	52.72	5.89[a,b]	49.52	7.61	44.32	6.78
Teacher	45.92	6.57[a]	46.24	6.22[a]	48.78	5.68	44.64	6.63
Policemen	46.24	5.17	46.68	4.58	46.38	9.05	46.74	6.08
Father	51.68	7.16[a,b]	49.92	5.42[a]	47.60	7.53	49.86	8.06
Mother	45.32	6.82	48.08	3.75[a]	45.92	8.03	46.99	7.00
Me	44.76	5.95	44.72	3.08	46.00	8.34	42.08	1.64
Gangs	48.80	4.53[b]	45.64	5.22[a,b]	47.88	6.58	55.80	7.10

a = Significantly different from the "Applied, But Not Accepted" sample at the .05 level or beyond.

b = Significantly different from the "Did Not Apply" sample at the .05 level or beyond.

and FATHER. These results provide evidence to reject null hypothesis four on the concepts; SCHOOL and GANGS but not to reject it on the concepts; TEACHER, POLICEMAN, FATHER, MOTHER, and ME. A significant difference existed between the Parkway Program student group on two of the concepts. No significant differences occurred between the two groups on five of the concepts as measured by the semantic differential.

Post Hoc Data

Known male gang members attending high school in large urban centers are likely to change address more frequently, drop out of school at a higher rate, and be arrested more often than are high school students who do not belong to gangs. Since the chances that known male gang members attending traditional high schools would be difficult to relocate, a longitudinal study was not attempted by this investigator. Although this author acknowledges the fact that longitudinal data might prove more useful in determining the relationship between attendance of known male gang members in an innovative high school, such as the Philadelphia Parkway Program, and known male gang members in attendance in a traditional high school, it was felt that the feasibility of such an undertaking would be too difficult for the following reasons: (1) the possibility of locating the same students longer than an academic year's time would be very minimal, (2) the chance that, even if located, the student would respond to the instrument a second time would be slight, and (3) the pledge of anonymity granted to the respondent prescribed reidentification.

Since Parkway Program students were asked to respond to the instrument used in the study in the Fall of 1971 and again in the Spring of

1972, some longitudinal data, though not for the testing of the hypotheses stated in the study, were collected. These data are presented in Table 4.

A comparison of pre- and post-test mean scores by group shows a significant increase for the beginning or zero to one year students for the concepts; FATHER and GANGS, and a significant decrease for the concept ME. The mean scores for students with two or more years in the Parkway Program remained relatively constant. One significant increase occurred for the concept MOTHER for this group.

Both the beginning and older groups reported mean scores for the concept ME that were lower than the other six concepts rated. It might be pointed out, however, that mean scores that were more positive than negative for all seven concepts rated.

TABLE 4

Longitudinal Data on Attitudes of Innovative Program Students

	0 to 1 Year					2 Years or More				
	Fall 1971 N = 25		Spring 1972 N = 25			Fall 1971 N = 25		Spring 1972 N = 25		
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	"t"	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	"t"
School	51.04	8.55	52.08	6.85	0.87	52.72	4.54	52.72	5.89	0.00
Teacher	45.12	3.88	45.92	6.57	1.21	47.36	7.93	46.24	6.22	0.55
Policemen	44.96	5.82	46.24	5.17	1.95	46.68	6.28	46.68	4.58	0.00
Father	50.16	5.83	51.68	7.16	2.05*	51.04	6.90	49.92	5.42	0.63
Mother	45.36	5.99	45.32	6.82	0.00	44.40	7.64	48.08	3.75	2.13*
Me	46.64	5.49	44.76	5.95	2.33*	48.04	7.78	44.72	3.08	1.95
Gangs	45.24	5.56	48.80	4.53	5.21*	46.60	6.17	45.64	5.22	0.59

*Significant at the .05 level or beyond.

Findings

Hypothesis I, no significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who are new to an innovative high school in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves was rejected on the concepts; TEACHER, POLICEMEN, ME, and GANGS and not rejected on the concepts; SCHOOL, FATHER, and MOTHER.

Students who had been in the Parkway Program for one or more years indicated significantly more positive attitudes toward the concepts; TEACHER, POLICEMEN, ME, and GANGS than did the new to the Parkway Program group. More positive, though not statistically significant, attitudes toward the concepts; SCHOOL and FATHER were also indicated by the one or more years in the Parkway Program group. Both groups indicated attitudes that were more positive than negative toward the seven concepts measured.

Hypothesis II, there will be no significant difference between male students who are known gang members and have attended an innovative high school for two or more years, and male students who are known gang members who have attended an innovative high school for one year in their attitudes toward school, law enforcement, family, and themselves was rejected on the concepts; SCHOOL, TEACHER, POLICEMEN, and ME.

The two or more years in the Parkway Program group reported higher mean scores for the concepts; SCHCOL, TEACHER, POLICEMEN, and MOTHER than did the one year group. The two or more years group indicated more negative attitudes toward the concepts; FATHER, ME, and GANGS than did the one year group. Both groups indicated attitudes toward the seven concepts measured

that were more positive than negative. The one year group reported a mean score increase for the concept GANG, while the two or more years group reported a mean score decrease for the concept GANG. Both groups reported a mean score decrease for the concept ME. The groups did not differ significantly from each other in their attitudes toward the concepts; SCHOOL, TEACHER, POLICEMEN, and ME.

Hypothesis III, no significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who applied for but were not accepted into an innovative high school, in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves was rejected on the concepts; SCHOOL, TEACHER, FATHER, and GANGS and not rejected on the concepts; POLICEMEN, MOTHER, and ME.

The Parkway Program student group indicated a significantly more positive attitude towards the concept SCHOOL than did the applied group. The students attending the Parkway Program indicated a significantly more negative attitude toward the concept TEACHER. Only the two or more years in the Parkway Program group indicated a significantly more negative attitude toward the concept GANGS. Both the innovative and traditional school groups reported mean scores that were more positive than negative toward the seven concepts measured.

Hypothesis IV, no significant differences will occur between male students who are known gang members and who have attended an innovative high school for one or more years, and male students who are known gang members who did not apply to an innovative high school, in their attitudes toward school, family, law enforcement, and themselves was rejected on the

concepts; SCHOOL and GANGS and not rejected on the concepts; TEACHER, POLICEMEN, FATHER, MOTHER, and ME.

The Parkway Program students indicated a significantly more positive attitude toward the concept SCHOOL and a significantly more negative attitude toward the concept GANGS than did the traditional school students. If a more positive than negative attitude toward the concept GANG is to be viewed as an indication of an individual's need of gang support and therefore makes the individual more likely to be susceptible to gang influences, then the findings seem worthy of some discussion.

One possible explanation for the more positive than negative attitudes toward the concept GANGS is that the gang member might not be ready at this particular point in time to diminish completely the relationship that he has established with the group. He may not wish to do this for a number of reasons. Although he may wish to make new friends, perform well in school, and be more law abiding, he may at the same time wish to maintain contact with the gang in order to avoid their retributory actions, remain in the sphere of their protection from others, or to retain some of the interpersonal relationships that have developed over a period. It is possible, then, that the Parkway Program and the applied to the Parkway Program students are pulled in two directions at the same time. These students may wish to accept the values of the school and government, but at the same time wish to remain a part of the gang that tends to reject those values.

The decline in mean scores for the concept ME indicated by the Parkway Program students also merits some comment. A possible explanation for this decline might be that gang members attending the Parkway Program come into contact with a more diverse and sophisticated group of students

and because of their interactions with them, are somewhat humbled by the experience. Another possible explanation is that gang members are more likely to boast or brag about themselves when they are in a hostile social environment but apt to view themselves more critically when in a non-threatening social setting. Despite this apparent decline in the gang member's attitude toward himself, mean scores for the concept SCHOOL remained the highest of the seven concepts measured.

An explanation for the lack of consistency in mean scores for the concepts FATHER and MOTHER might be that these concepts are so emotionally laden that the gang member has difficulty in dealing with them. Individuals are taught that parents should be loved, honored, and respected. As gang members perceive the relationship that they have with one or more parents, conflicting feelings may develop. These feelings may be so strong for some individuals that they find it difficult to question themselves about them.

Since both the Parkway Program and the applied to the Parkway Program but were not accepted groups rated the concept SCHOOL the highest in mean scores for the seven concepts measured, this finding deserves some comment. It may be that, contrary to some current views, some gang members actually want and value an education. If this is so, then it may be possible that gang members who want to escape the pervasive influence of the gang apply to the Parkway Program for this reason. Intensive interaction with fellow gang members and other gangs is a daily part of the traditional school setting. The fact that most gang members attend the same school that their fellow gang members attend increases the opportunity for constant interaction between the group, not only during school hours but on the way to and from school. Those gang members who apply to the Parkway

Program may be seeking a way to lessen the influence of the gang, at least during school hours.

The fact that only two statistically significant differences occurred between the Parkway Program and the did not apply to the Parkway Program student groups on the seven concepts measured deserves some discussion. The concept; TEACHER, POLICEMEN, FATHER, and MOTHER represent authority figures. Gang members are easy to identify because they are highly visible. They live in certain neighborhoods, attend the same schools, gather in specific locations, and thus are seen together as a group more frequently than are other groups. This visibility tends to bring the gang members into conflict with authority figures more often than the non-gang member. When gang members are confronted by parents, teachers, and policemen, negative feelings usually develop.

Of the various findings, the least disputable would appear to be the significantly more positive attitude toward the concept SCHOOL indicated by known male gang members attending the Parkway Program than those indicated by known male gang members attending traditional high school. A question that still remains, however, is whether the innovative school student developed more positive attitudes because of their attendance in the innovative school or simply have such values as a result of other variables.

Another significant finding is that the known male gang members who did not apply to the Parkway Program indicated significantly more positive attitudes toward the concept GANGS than did either of the Parkway Program student groups.

To explain the failure to find a larger number of significant differences, there appear to be several alternatives. We might say, first, that our samples were small. There is also the possibility that the size

and representativeness of our sample was suitable for an exploratory study only. The lack of more significant differences could be due to the possibility that the measurement instrument was inefficient.

Another possibility is that, for the most part, the null hypotheses are true, and that there are few differences between students who are known male gang members who attend an innovative high school (The Philadelphia Parkway Program) and known male gang members who attend traditional high school in their attitudes toward the major socializing institutions of our society. This could also be due to the fact that there is little or no real difference between the Parkway Program and traditional high school. Finally, it is at least possible that there are few effects that schools can have on the attitudes of known male gang members by the time they reach the secondary school level.

It should be restated that the study reflected only self-reported attitudes and did not measure behavior resulting from the criteria. This study also did not obtain any measure on such variables as curriculum content, student-teacher relationships or the like. This author did not attempt to determine the degree of influence that various socializing agents have on the individual gang member, nor to try to speculate about which agent exercises the most influence. This author did attempt, however, to arrive at some sense of the attitudes that known male gang members attending both an innovative alternative program and traditional high schools bring with them to the educational setting.

Although the data reported here were very modest in scope, the following conclusions seem warranted:

1. Known male gang members who apply to the Parkway Program have significantly more positive attitudes toward the concept SCHOOL than do known male gang members who do not apply to the Parkway Program.

2. Known male gang members who have been in the Parkway Program for two or more years have a significantly more negative attitude toward the concept GANGS than do known male gang members who have been in the Parkway Program for one year or less or known male gang members who attend traditional school.

Educational Significance of the Study

Attitudes expressed toward education are important, but those attitudes expressed by individuals belonging to delinquent sub-groups have particular significance for school administrators whose schools are beseiged by disruptive gang activity. It would seem, from the findings of this study, that attendance in an innovative alternative school, such as the Parkway Program, does have implications for those interested in altering the impact of gang activity on educational climates and the role that schools can play in changing the behavior of individual gang members. It would appear that an innovative high school, such as the Parkway Program, enables the individual gang member to escape from the intensive day to day interaction with fellow gang members during school hours. An innovative high school also works to reduce the influence of the gang on the individual gang member during school hours. It is recommended that other studies be directed at determining attitudinal change influenced by innovative and alternative educational programs. If such studies were undertaken, the following suggestions may prove useful:

1. Study the interaction of teachers and gang members so that some insight might be gained from the direct observation of the roles teachers play in an innovative or alternative school in the development of the student's change or lack of change in attitude toward certain concepts relating to the degree and intensity of alienation from socializing norms.

2. Participant observation studies of groups in schools is suggested in order to gain knowledge of the gang member's behavior in various settings and sub-groups. This ought to include the collecting of pertinent information about changes that occur in the gang member as the intensity of peer interaction increases or decreases over a period of time.

Although much has been written about alternative school programs, no data appear to exist that describes the nature of an innovative versus a traditional educational program. Careful field studies are necessary in order to identify those elements in an educational program that can be considered as alternative rather than just a different way of doing the traditional. No one has ever carefully developed criteria to determine whether or not educational programs are alternative. This must be done before we can study the relationship between alternative programs and other educational variables.

REFERENCES

1. Anderson, C. A., "The Modernization of Education," Modernization, edited by Myron Weiner (New York: Basic, 1966).

2. Bloch, Hubert and Flynn, Frank T., The Juvenile Offender in America Today (New York: Random House, 1956).

3. Bremer, John and von Moschzisker, Michael, The School Without Walls (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971).

4. Clark, Burton R., Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962).

5. Cloward, Richard A. and Ohlin, Lloyd E., Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs (Glencoe: Free Press, 1961).

6. Cohen, Albert K., Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955).

7. Final Report of the Task Force on Urban Education, Urban School Crises. A Report to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington Monitoring Service, 1970).

8. Glueck, Sheldon and Glueck, Eleanor. Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency and Its Treatment (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

9. Kvaraceus, William C. and Miller, Walter B., Delinquent Behavior: Culture and the Individual (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1959).

10. Miller, Walter B., "Lower Class Culture as a Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, 1958, Vol. 24, pp. 5-19.

11. Osgood, Charles E., Suci, George J., and Tannebaum, Percy H., The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

12. OSTI, Organization for Social and Technical Innovation, Philadelphia's Parkway Program: An Evaluation, A Report to the Philadelphia School Board (Newton, Massachusetts, 1972).

13. Reckless, Walter C., et al., "Self-Concept, as an Insulator Against Delinquency," American Sociological Review, December 1956, pp. 544-546.

14. Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn W., Reference Groups (New York: Harper, 1964).

15. Sutherland, Edwin H., Principles of Criminology (New York: Lippincott, 1939).

16. Tannenbaum, Frank, Crime and the Community (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).